

Links Between Discrimination and Sexual Orientation Self-Disclosure in Bisexual

Individuals: The Moderating Effect of Relationship Satisfaction

Sarah Gobrial

Advisor: Michael Vasey, PhD

The Ohio State University

Abstract

Bisexuals experience sexual orientation-related discrimination from both the heterosexual and gay communities (Brewster & Moradi, 2010). This discrimination has been linked to bisexuals' disproportionately high rates of mental illness compared to their gay and straight peers (Molina et al., 2015). Sexual orientation self-disclosure among bisexuals is lower than among gay individuals, and thus this has been proposed as an underlying mechanism for bisexuals' poor mental health outcomes (Schrimshaw et al., 2013). Another mechanism may involve the nullification of bisexual identities in monogamous relationships (Hartman-Linck, 2014), which is likely to be associated with negative psychological consequences (Pachankis, 2007). This theory has not been experimentally examined and is in contrast to research showing that romantic relationships positively influence psychological health (Gordon et al., 2012). This study experimentally examines the role of relationships (specifically, relationship satisfaction) in moderating the link between discrimination and disclosure. Bisexual adults (N=136) completed self-report measures about relationship satisfaction, and viewed two bisexual-specific discrimination-inducing film clips of the heterosexual and gay communities, while completing mood ratings throughout the study. Finally, they completed a forced-choice sexual orientation disclosure task. Results suggest that higher levels of relationship satisfaction buffer against the harmful impact of discrimination on likelihood to disclose, while lower levels of relationship satisfaction enhance the harmful impact.

Introduction

Throughout history, sexual orientation has been primarily understood as a binary construct (i.e., heterosexual versus homosexual). As time has progressed, it has become increasingly clear that, in reality, sexuality is not adequately captured by a binary scale, but rather may fall along a continuum (as in the case of bisexuality), or perhaps even along multiple continuums. Since the development of the widely used Kinsey scale (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948), which conceptualized sexuality as falling along a 7-point continuum from 0 “Exclusively Heterosexual” to 6 “Exclusively Homosexual,” other scales such as the Klein Sexual Orientation Grid (which includes items related to attraction, behavior, identity, and others; Klein, Sepekoff, & Wolf, 1985) have been developed to better understand the complexities of human sexual orientation. Arguably the most popular non-binary identity is bisexuality, and while there has been a recent burst of research activity on bisexuality, in everyday life this orientation often gets lost behind assumptions of heterosexuality or homosexuality.

Bisexuals experience a unique type of *double discrimination* in that they are targeted by both the heterosexual and gay/lesbian communities (Brewster & Moradi, 2010). Bisexual individuals, just like the rest of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community, are frequent targets of discrimination by non-LGBT individuals (Bostwick, Boyd, Hughes, West, & McCabe, 2014). This discrimination occurs at multiple levels, from institutional discrimination (e.g., state and federal laws about marriage equality; Hatzenbuehler, 2014) to interpersonal maltreatment (e.g., in the workplace; see review by Badgett, Sears, Lau, & Ho, 2009).

Even within the LGBT community, bisexual identities are often targeted. Such discrimination often depicts bisexual individuals as highly promiscuous, or as confused gay people who have not yet accepted their “true” gay identity, ideas that perpetuate intolerant attitudes toward bisexuals in the gay and lesbian community (Brewster & Moradi, 2010). The prevalence of this discrimination is reflected in studies investigating bisexual involvement in the broader LGBT community. For example, one study found that many bisexual men and women did not participate in the events of the gay and lesbian community due to fear of bisexual-specific discrimination, and when they did participate, they tried either passing as gay or failing to correct assumptions of homosexuality in order to feel more accepted (McLean, 2008).

Experiencing discrimination can have harmful consequences for mental health. Indeed, research has shown that experiencing minority stress is associated with increased levels of psychological distress (Meyer, 1995). One study found that when LGBT individuals were exposed to institutional discrimination, such as living in states with a ban on gay marriage, they were at increased risk for generalized anxiety disorder, mood disorders, and alcohol use disorders (Hatzenbuehler, McLaughlin, Keyes, & Hasin, 2010). These consequences are particularly harmful for bisexual individuals, who consistently show higher rates of mental illness than their gay and lesbian peers (Beaber, 2008; Bostwick, Boyd, Hughes, & McCabe, 2010; Molina et al., 2015). One study revealed that for bisexual individuals, minority stressors, such as experiences of prejudice, are positively associated with psychological distress and negatively linked with well-being (Brewster, Moradi, Deblaere, & Velez, 2013). Additionally, a recent study found that bisexual women show significantly higher rates of poor physical health and

frequent mental distress than lesbian women (Fredriksen-Goldsen, Kim, Barkan, Balsam, & Mincer, 2010).

One pathway by which discrimination may have its deleterious effects on mental health is through sexual orientation self-disclosure. Indeed, many researchers have proposed that the double discrimination of bisexual individuals by both the straight and gay communities is tied to bisexuals' reduced likelihood compared to their gay and lesbian peers to disclose their sexual orientation (Schrimshaw, Siegel, Downing, & Parsons, 2013). Reduced sexual orientation self-disclosure (also known colloquially as "coming out") may have adverse effects on wellbeing. Pachankis (2007) suggested that living with a hidden stigma (e.g., bisexuality) is associated with negative affective consequences including guilt, shame, anxiety, and depression, as well as behavioral consequences, including impaired functioning in close relationships.

Given identity concealment's ties with impaired relationship functioning, perhaps high romantic relationship satisfaction serves as a buffer against the negative effects of discrimination on bisexuals' likelihood to disclose their sexual orientation. Romantic relationships are an important source of social support for individuals, regardless of sexual orientation, providing positive health, adjustment, and well-being benefits (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Romantic relationships have also been shown to benefit people suffering from mental illness (Gordon, Heimberg, Montesi, & Fauber, 2012). This relationship buffer may be particularly helpful for bisexuals. A recent study found that for single bisexual individuals there was a positive association between discrimination and anxiety, but this association was not present for bisexual individuals who were in relationships (Feinstein, Latack, Bhatia, Davila, & Eaton, 2016). This

finding suggests that romantic relationships can protect against the harmful psychological effects of discrimination.

Critically, relationship factors may also play an important role in sexual-orientation self-disclosure in bisexual individuals. Indeed, one study found that bisexual women with a single male partner (i.e., in an opposite-sex relationship) appear to disclose their sexual orientation less than women with a single female partner (i.e., in a same-sex relationship; Molina et al., 2015).

It is important to acknowledge that bisexual individuals face unique challenges in acquiring and maintaining satisfying relationships. For instance, because potential partners might not believe in bisexuality, bisexuals may struggle more to find dates (D'Augelli & Patterson, 1995, p.178). Once bisexuals do find someone to date, research suggests that shame from sexual orientation-related discrimination from the broader public is associated with poorer relationships (Mereish & Poteat, 2015), and sometimes even higher rates of intimate partner violence (Carvalho, Lewis, Derlega, Winstead, & Viggiano, 2011). Similarly, when bisexual individuals are in monogamous long-term relationships or are not partnered, many people are inclined to forget a bisexual individual's sexual identity, which may lead to a sense of invisibility and isolation (Klesse, 2011). These experiences may be associated with bisexuals' higher risk for mental illness — in fact, a recent study found that bisexual women with a single male partner and bisexual women with multiple female and male partners may be particularly vulnerable to depressive symptoms and alcohol-related outcomes due to greater exposure to bisexual specific discrimination (Molina et al., 2015). Given these findings, it is crucial that additional research examine this link between self-disclosure, discrimination, and

relationships in bisexual individuals in order to close the mental health gap experienced by this community.

Since most of the existing research in this field is survey-based, the present study utilizes an experimental approach to examine the effects of bisexual-specific discrimination (from both straight individuals as well as gay men and lesbians) and relationship satisfaction on sexual orientation self-disclosure (as measured by a decision making task) in bisexual individuals. I hypothesized that the level of relationship satisfaction would moderate the link between reactions to discrimination (i.e., mood ratings) and sexual orientation self-disclosure, such that the negative effects of discrimination would be diminished through the benefits of high relationship satisfaction in bisexual individuals.

Method

Participants

Participants consisted of 136 bisexual Americans in relationships over the age of 18 ($M = 24.8$, $SD = 7.4$) recruited through online Facebook advertisements. Sixty-five percent of participants identified as women, 13% as men, 15% as genderqueer, and 7% identified as having another gender identity. The sample was 96% Caucasian and 21% Hispanic. Participants were compensated \$15 for completing the study.

Procedure

The present study was conducted online using Qualtrics survey software. After providing informed consent, participants completed demographic questions and several self-report questionnaires, including the Relationship Closeness Inventory (RCI) and the

Couples Satisfaction Index (CSI) to assess relationship satisfaction. Next, they watched two film clips in a counterbalanced order. One clip featured bisexual-specific discriminatory content from the general, mostly heterosexual, public, while a second clip contained bisexual-specific discriminatory content from lesbian and gay communities. After each film clip participants completed a forced-choice decision-making task as a measure of deliberate self-disclosure. Since this study was conducted online, measures were taken to maximize data quality. For example, compensation was not provided to participants who failed more than one of the “attention questions” or left a large portion of the study questions blank. Attention questions are designed to catch disengaged participants and automated bot programs (Goodman, Cryder, & Cheema, 2013). These attention questions consisted of both visual and auditory elements from the film clips to ensure that participants were paying attention.

Measures

Couples Satisfaction Index (CSI). The Couples Satisfaction Index (Funk & Rogge, 2007) is a 32-item measure that assesses relationship satisfaction utilizing a variety of Likert-type scales. Additionally, the measure can be shortened into a 16-item measure or a 4-item measure. For the present study, the CSI was used in its 4-item format. The items used in the 4-item format are as follows: *“Please indicate the degree of happiness, all things considered, of your relationship; I have a warm and comfortable relationship with my partner; How rewarding is your relationship with your partner; and In general, how satisfied are you with your relationship?”* It has shown excellent internal consistency in its shortened and full lengths ($\alpha = .94-.98$; Funk & Rogge, 2007). The present study showed similar internal consistency ($\alpha = .93$).

Film Clips

Two two-minute-long film clips depicting discrimination against bisexuals were created for the purposes of this study, one depicting discrimination perpetrated by heterosexuals, and another depicting discrimination perpetrated by gay men and lesbians. To create these clips, I identified over 60 potential film clips from popular media including YouTube videos, clips from TV shows, and news programs using search terms such as “bisexuals are liars” and “bisexuality doesn’t exist.” I then coded these clips for content characteristics including the source of discrimination (i.e., heterosexual community v.s. gay and lesbian community), genders represented, inclusion of people of color, and inclusion of celebrities. I matched the clips for these content characteristics and compiled the discriminatory clips into two final two-minute montages, one depicting anti-bisexual discrimination from the heterosexual community and the other depicting anti-bisexual discrimination from the lesbian and gay community.

Disclosure Task

In this task, participants were asked to indicate how likely they would be to disclose their sexual identity to a generic list of people (e.g., friend, sibling, teacher) on a scale of 1 “*not at all likely*” to 7 “*definitely*. ” Participants were also asked how difficult it would be for them to disclose their orientation to these target individuals. Responses to these questions were summed across targets, such that higher scores reflect a greater willingness to disclose sexual orientation. For the purposes of the present investigation, we examined disclosure to family. Examining sexual-orientation disclosure to family in the novel disclosure task was chosen due to findings from preliminary analyses using survey data showing a significant relationship between experiences of discrimination and

disclosure to family ($p = .023$), and between relationship satisfaction and disclosure to family ($p = .040$) before experimental manipulations. This novel disclosure measure showed acceptable internal consistency ($\alpha = .73$).

Mood Ratings

Participants reported their mood before and after each film clip and the disclosure task using the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Participants rated their current emotions on a scale of 1 “*not at all likely*” to 9 “*extremely*” in response to single-word prompts. The negative affect composite score included: irritable, distressed, ashamed, upset, hostile, nervous, afraid, angry, and sad. The negative affect measure showed excellent internal consistency in the present study ($\alpha = .95$).

Data Analyses

Using Hayes’ PROCESS macro for SPSS, relationship satisfaction, as measured by the Couples Satisfaction Index, was examined as a moderator between discrimination, as measured by negative affect following the first film clip, and sexual-orientation disclosure, as measured by sexual-orientation disclosure to family in the decision making task (See Figure 1).

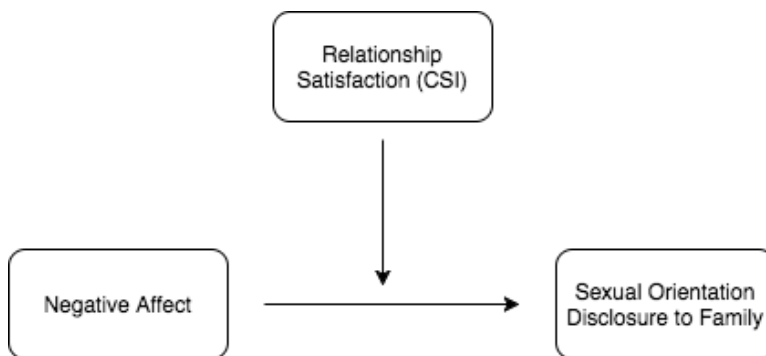


Figure 1: Relationship Satisfaction (CSI) as a moderator between Negative Affect following first film clip and Sexual Orientation Disclosure to Family

Results

To examine associations between the variables used in the present study, Pearson-moment correlations were run between variables of interest: specifically, the CSI, negative affect, and disclosure in the decision making task (see Table 1). Significant positive associations were found between negative affect and disclosure on the decision-making task ($p < .01$). Thus, a moderation model was run to investigate these associations.

Table 1

| <i>Correlations of model variables</i> | | | |
|--|----------|----------|----------|
| Measure | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. Couples Satisfaction Index | - | | |
| 2. Negative Affect | .009 | - | |
| 3. Disclosure in decision-making task | -.021 | .247*** | - |

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

As shown in Table 2, sexual –orientation disclosure to family was not significantly predicted by relationship satisfaction and negative affect. However, a trend in the predicted direction was revealed when the interaction was probed to determine the conditional effect of negative affect on sexual orientation disclosure at different levels of relationship satisfaction. The interaction was probed by testing the conditional effects of

negative affect at three levels of relationship satisfaction, one standard deviation below the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean. (See Table 3). At high relationship satisfaction (one *SD* above the mean), there was no significant relationship between negative affect and sexual orientation disclosure to family ($p = .386$). At the mean of relationship satisfaction, there was a significant negative relationship between negative affect and sexual orientation disclosure to family ($\beta = -.187$, $SE = .090$, $p = .040$). At low levels of relationship satisfaction (one *SD* below the mean), there was a marginally significant stronger negative relationship between negative affect and sexual orientation disclosure to family ($\beta = -.264$, $SE = .136$, $p = .055$). As relationship satisfaction increases, the relationship between negative affect and sexual orientation disclosure to family becomes less negative (See Figure 2).

Table 2
Sexual Orientation Disclosure to Family Predicted from Relationship Satisfaction and Negative Affect

| Variable | β | SE | p | 95% CI | |
|---|---------|------|------|---------|-------|
| Relationship Satisfaction | -.063 | .116 | .589 | -.294 | .168 |
| Negative Affect | -.498 | .403 | .219 | -1.295, | .300 |
| Relationship Satisfaction x Negative Affect | -.019 | .024 | .421 | -.0276, | .0654 |

Table 3

Conditional Effects of Negative Affect on Sexual Orientation Disclosure at Levels of Relationship Satisfaction

| Relationship Satisfaction | β | <i>SE</i> | <i>p</i> |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| One <i>SD</i> below mean | -.264 | .136 | .055 |
| At the mean | -.187 | .090 | .040* |
| One <i>SD</i> above mean | -.109 | .126 | .386 |

* $p \leq .05$, $M = 16.419$, $SD = 4.071$

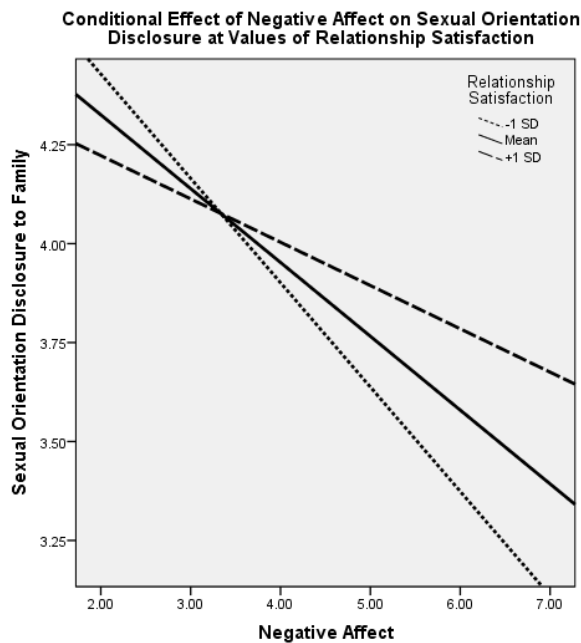


Figure 2: For lower levels of relationship satisfaction, there is a stronger negative relationship between negative affect and sexual orientation disclosure to family

Discussion

These findings from a sample of bisexual individuals in relationships support this study's original predictions by suggesting that higher levels of relationship satisfaction may serve as a buffer against the harmful impact of discrimination, while lower levels of relationship satisfaction elicit a stronger negative relationship between negative affect following bisexual-specific discrimination and likelihood to disclose sexual orientation. That is, for low levels of relationship satisfaction, the greater the negative affect after experiencing discrimination the less likely a person is to disclose their sexual orientation to a family member.

Given the higher rates of mental illness experienced by the bisexual community, it is essential to understand the potential mechanisms that could alleviate suffering. According to this study's findings, higher levels of relationship satisfaction may play a crucial role in buffering the harmful impact of discrimination. Since it is (currently) nearly impossible to eliminate experiences of discrimination in the real world, future interventions could be developed to target improving relationship satisfaction in order to combat the deleterious impact of discrimination and increase sexual-orientation disclosure within the community. For example, treatments like ESTEEM, an adaptation of the Unified Protocol for Emotional Disorders (Ellard, Fairholme, Boisseau, Farchione, & Barlow, 2010) that targets the minority stress experiences of sexual minority men, could incorporate this research by including a focus on increasing relationship satisfaction. Alternatively, extant evidence-based couples therapies (e.g., Epstein & Baucom, 2002) could be adapted to include dedicated material on minority stress as it functions in relationships where at least one partner identifies as bisexual.

The present study is not without limitations. These results should be interpreted with caution, as the overall regression model did not reach significance. Additionally the result at the lower value of relationship satisfaction did not reach significance ($p = .055$). One possible explanation for this finding is that there were fewer participants who reported lower values of relationship satisfaction. Therefore, these results could not generate statistical significance (McClelland & Judd, 1993). Given this study's fewer participants at the lowest level of relationship satisfaction, and marginal significance at this level, future studies could examine a larger sample size in order to generate a greater number of participants at lower levels of relationship satisfaction. Alternatively, future studies could oversample for different levels of relationship satisfaction in order to more thoroughly investigate the moderating effect of relationship satisfaction on the link between discrimination and disclosure in bisexual individuals at lower levels of relationship satisfaction.

Another possible limitation of the present study involves the difficulty in measuring disclosure. Since recruitment for the study involved advertisements specifically seeking bisexual individuals, participation in the study required participants to identify as bisexual, therefore disclosing their sexual orientation at the beginning of the study. Although the decision-making task was developed to experimentally measure disclosure following discrimination, the bisexual-specific study recruitment may have deterred participants who were less likely to disclose their orientation.

This study utilized experimental manipulations for inducing discrimination through the film clips, and for measuring disclosure through the decision-making task, but did not use an experimental manipulation to measure relationship satisfaction. Future

research should aim to utilize an experimental approach to manipulate relationship satisfaction in order to make the study completely experimental. This could involve a priming manipulation in which participants are asked to think about satisfying aspects of their relationships or unsatisfying aspects of their relationships. Utilizing an entirely experimental approach would be useful in determining a causal link between relationship satisfaction and disclosure following experiences of discrimination.

Future studies may also seek to further investigate this moderating effect of relationship satisfaction by determining whether there are significant differences in the type of relationship that bisexual individuals are in. For instance, they could examine whether this moderating effect of relationship satisfaction exists for both same-sex and opposite-sex relationships in bisexual individuals, or if there are significant differences between them.

Given that not all bisexuals are in partnered romantic relationships, it is also crucial for future studies to investigate the role of non-romantic relationships in moderating the link between experiences of discrimination and likelihood to disclose sexual orientation. Future studies should seek to determine whether it is simply the role of social support that is protecting against the impacts of discrimination, or if this effect is only true for partnered romantic relationships.

The present research suggests that romantic relationship satisfaction plays an important role in moderating the link between discrimination and disclosure. Considering bisexuals' increased risk for mental illness, it is essential for researchers to continue to investigate potential mechanisms that could increase sexual orientation disclosure within the bisexual community in order to help bridge the mental health gap.

References

- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 3, 497-529.
- Badgett, M. V. L., Sears, B., Lau, H., & Ho, D. (2009). Bias in the workplace: consistent evidence of sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination 1998-2008.(The Evolution of Academic Discourse on Sexual Orientation and the Law: A Festschrift in Honor of Jeffrey Sherman). *Chicago-Kent Law Review*, 84, 2, 559-595.
- Bostwick, W. B., Boyd, C. J., Hughes, T. L., & McCabe, S. E. (2010). Dimensions of Sexual Orientation and the Prevalence of Mood and Anxiety Disorders in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, 100(3), 468–475.
<https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2008.152942>
- Brewster, M. E., & Moradi, B. (2010). Perceived experiences of anti-bisexual prejudice: Instrument development and evaluation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 57(4), 451–468. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021116>
- Brewster, M. E., Moradi, B., Deblaere, C., & Velez, B. L. (2013). Navigating the borderlands: the roles of minority stressors, bicultural self-efficacy, and cognitive flexibility in the mental health of bisexual individuals. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 60, 4, 543-56.
- Carvalho, A. F., Lewis, R. J., Derlega, V. J., Winstead, B. A., & Viggiano, C. (2011). Internalized Sexual Minority Stressors and Same-Sex Intimate Partner Violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, 26, 7, 501-509.

- D'Augelli, A. R., & Patterson, C. (1995). *Lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities over the lifespan: Psychological perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ellard, K. K., Fairholme, C. P., Boisseau, C. L., Farchione, T. J., & Barlow, D. H. (2010). Unified Protocol for the Transdiagnostic Treatment of Emotional Disorders: Protocol Development and Initial Outcome Data. *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice*, 17(1), 88–101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cbpra.2009.06.002>
- Epstein, N. B., & Baucom, D. H. (2002). *Enhanced cognitive-behavioral therapy for couples: A contextual approach*. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- Feinstein, B. A., Latack, J. A., Bhatia, V., Davila, J., & Eaton, N. R. (2016). Romantic relationship involvement as a minority stress buffer in gay/lesbian versus bisexual individuals. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health*, 20(3), 237–257. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19359705.2016.1147401>
- Fredriksen-Goldsen, K. I., Kim, H.-J., Barkan, S. E., Balsam, K. F., & Mincer, S. L. (2010). Disparities in Health-Related Quality of Life: A Comparison of Lesbians and Bisexual Women. *American Journal of Public Health*, 100, 11, 2255.
- Funk, J. L., & Rogge, R. D. (2007). Testing the ruler with item response theory: increasing precision of measurement for relationship satisfaction with the Couples Satisfaction Index. *Journal of Family Psychology : Jfp : Journal of the Division of Family Psychology of the American Psychological Association (division 43)*, 21, 4, 572-83.

- Goodman, J. K., Cryder, C. E., & Cheema, A. (2013). Data Collection in a Flat World: The Strengths and Weaknesses of Mechanical Turk Samples. *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making*, 26, 3, 213-224.
- Gordon, E. A., Heimberg, R. G., Montesi, J. L., & Fauber, R. L. (2012). Romantic relationships: do socially anxious individuals benefit? *Cognitive Behaviour Therapy*, 41(2), 140–151. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16506073.2012.656275>
- Hatzenbuehler, M. L. (2014). Structural stigma and the health of lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 23(2), 127–132.
- Hatzenbuehler, M. L., McLaughlin, K. A., Keyes, K. M., & Hasin, D. S. (2010). The impact of institutional discrimination on psychiatric disorders in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: a prospective study. *American Journal of Public Health*, 100,3, 452-9.
- Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., & Martin, C. E. (1948). Sexual behavior in the human male. Retrieved from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2092220/pdf/brmedj03707-0002.pdf>
- Klein, F., Sepekoff, B., & Wolf, T. J. (1985). Sexual orientation: a multi-variable dynamic process. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 11, 1-2.
- Klesse, C. (2011). Shady Characters, Untrustworthy Partners, and Promiscuous Sluts: Creating Bisexual Intimacies in the Face of Heteronormativity and Biphobia. *Journal of Bisexuality*, 11, 227-244.

- McClelland, G. H., & Judd, C. M. (1993). Statistical difficulties of detecting interactions and moderator effects. *Psychological Bulletin*, 114(2), 376–390.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.114.2.376>
- McLean, K. (2008). Inside, Outside, Nowhere: Bisexual Men and Women in the Gay and Lesbian Community. *Journal of Bisexuality*, 8, 63-80.
- Mereish, E. H., & Poteat, V. P. (2015). A Relational Model of Sexual Minority Mental and Physical Health: The Negative Effects of Shame on Relationships, Loneliness, and Health. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 62, 3.)
- Meyer, I. H. (1995). Minority stress and mental health in gay men. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 36, 1, 38-56.
- Molina, Y., Marquez, J. H., Logan, D. E., Leeson, C. J., Balsam, K. F., & Kaysen, D. L. (2015). Current Intimate Relationship Status, Depression, and Alcohol Use Among Bisexual Women: The Mediating Roles of Bisexual-Specific Minority Stressors. *Sex Roles*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0483-z>
- Pachankis, J. E. (2007). The psychological implications of concealing a stigma: a cognitive-affective-behavioral model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 133(2), 328–345.
- Schrimshaw, E. W., Siegel, K., Downing, M. J., & Parsons, J. T. (2013). Disclosure and concealment of sexual orientation and the mental health of non-gay-identified, behaviorally bisexual men. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 81, 1, 141-53.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of*

Personality and Social Psychology, 54(6), 1063–1070.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.6.1063>